

Message Text

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O 220121Z JUN 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALL EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
XMT AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

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FOR THE AMBASSADOR ONLY, FROM HOLBROOKE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PSDC

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S ASIA SOCIETY SPEECH

1. FOLLOWING IS A DRAFT SPEECH PREPARED FOR DELIVERY BY
THE SECRETARY AT THE ASIA SOCIETY IN NEW YORK ON JUNE 29.
IT HAS NOT YET BEEN REVIEWED BY THE SECRETARY.

2. YOUR COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS, ADDRESSED TO HOLBROOKE
AND COLBERT, WOULD BE MOST APPRECIATED. TO BE AVAILABLE
FOR NEXT STAGE OF REVISION, THEY SHOULD ARRIVE NO LATER
THAN CLOSE OF BUSINESS FRIDAY, WASHINGTON TIME.

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3. IT IS A GREAT HONOR TO BE WITH YOU TONIGHT. FOR TWENTY
ONE YEARS THE ASIA SOCIETY HAS BEEN BUILDING BRIDGES OF
UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN ASIANS AND AMERICANS. MUCH OF THE
CREDIT BELONGS TO THE SOCIETY'S FOUNDER, JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER
III. HIS INTEREST IN THE CULTURES OF ASIA IS ENDURING;
HIS CONCERN FOR ASIAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS PROFOUND,
DATING BACK TO THE TROUBLED TIMES THAT FOLLOWED WORLD WAR
II.

4. FROM THOSE YEARS TO THIS, ASIA HAS UNDERGONE AN EXTRA-

ORDINARY TRANSFORMATION. AND SO HAS THE NATURE OF

AMERICA'S INVOLVEMENT IN ASIA.

5. RECALL HOW EAST ASIA LOOKED TO THE UNITED STATES AS NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATIONS TOOK POWER EIGHT, SIXTEEN, AND TWENTY-FOUR YEARS AGO.

6. --EIGHT YEARS AGO, IN 1969, MORE THAN 500,000 AMERICAN TROOPS WERE STILL INVOLVED IN A TRAGIC WAR IN VIETNAM. ITS COSTS WERE CRUEL FOR ALL CONCERNED. FOR AMERICANS, NOT THE LEAST COST OF THE CONFLICT WAS THE BITTER DIVISION IT AROUSED HERE AT HOME--A DIVISION WE HAD NOT KNOWN SINCE OUR OWN CIVIL WAR.

7. --SIXTEEN YEARS AGO, IN 1961, THE NATION'S ATTENTION WAS FOCUSED ON A CRISIS IN LAOS. THE FIRST AMERICAN BUILDUP IN VIETNAM WAS UNDERWAY. WE WERE FRESH FROM A PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN THAT HAD INCLUDED A MAJOR DEBATE OVER THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF TWO SMALL ISLANDS IN THE TAIWAN STRAITS--QUEMOY AND MATSU;

8. --TWENTY-FOUR YEARS AGO, IN 1953, GENERAL EISENHOWER
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TOOK OFFICE ON A CAMPAIGN PLEDGE TO "GO TO KOREA." OVER 250,000 AMERICAN SOLDIERS WERE STILL AT WAR WITH THE NORTH KOREANS AND CHINESE.

9. ASIA HELD THE HEADLINES IN THOSE DAYS AND RARE WAS THE DAY THAT THERE WAS NEWS OF PEACE. MANY OF OUR BITTER-EST DEBATES AT HOME CONCERNED OUR ROLE IN ASIA--AND THE WARS THAT SWEPT UP AND DOWN ITS TERRAIN.

10. TODAY, ASIA IS AT PEACE. IT IS AS VAST AND DIVERSE AS EVER.

11. THERE IS NO ONE FORMULA FOR DEALING WITH COUNTRIES SO DIFFERENT IN THEIR HISTORY, THEIR RELIGIOUS HERITAGE, AND THEIR PROBLEMS. BUT THE TIES THAT BIND THIS DIVERSE REGION TOGETHER ARE GETTING STRONGER.

12. JAPAN, DYNAMIC AND PEACEFUL, IS NO LONGER ISOLATED BY THE INHERITED RESENTMENTS OF THE PACIFIC WAR.

13. THE DAYS ARE OVER WHEN THE NATIONS OF SOUTHEAST ASIA WERE CLOSER TO THEIR FORMER WESTERN RULERS THAN TO EACH OTHER.

14. IDEOLOGICAL LINES OF DIVISION PERSIST BUT THEY ARE NO LONGER BARRIERS TO COMMUNICATION.

15. REGIONAL INSTITUTIONS ARE EVOLVING--THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK IS AN EXAMPLE OF EFFECTIVE REGIONAL COOPERATION.

16. THE FUTURE IN ASIA HOLDS BRIGHT PROMISES. BUT IT HOLDS ALSO A CLEAR CHALLENGE TO MAINTAIN AND TO NURTURE THE GENERAL PEACE AND STABILITY THAT HAVE SO LONG BEEN DENIED TO THE PEOPLES OF THAT REGION.

17. THIS EVENING I WANT TO TALK TO YOU ABOUT AMERICA'S LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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ROLE IN ASIA, WHERE WE ARE, AND WHERE WE ARE GOING.

18. I HOPE TO LEAVE YOU WITH THESE UNDERSTANDINGS:

-- FIRST, THE UNITED STATES INTENDS TO REMAIN AN ASIAN AND PACIFIC POWER.

-- SECOND, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE ITS KEY ROLE IN CONTRIBUTING TO PEACE AND STABILITY IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC.

-- THIRD, THE UNITED STATES SEEKS NORMAL AND FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH ALL COUNTRIES IN THE AREA ON THE BASIS OF RECIPROCITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT.

-- FOURTH, THE UNITED STATES WILL PURSUE MUTUAL EXPANSION OF TRADE AND INVESTMENT ACROSS THE PACIFIC, RECOGNIZING THE GROWING INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE ECONOMIES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE REGION. WE WILL, OF COURSE, BE FULLY MINDFUL OF THE DOMESTIC IMPACT OF SUCH GROWTH;

-- AND FIFTH, WE WILL USE OUR INFLUENCE TO IMPROVE THE HUMAN CONDITION OF THE PEOPLES OF ASIA.

19. IN ALL OF THIS, THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT OF THE ENDURING VITALITY OF OUR COUNTRY'S RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE PEOPLES OF ASIA AND THE PACIFIC.

20. IF THERE ARE SOME IN ASIA WHO HOLD A LESS SANGUINE VIEW OF THE UNITED STATES, I SAY WITHOUT QUALIFICATION THAT OUR NATION HAS RECOVERED ITS SELF-CONFIDENCE AT HOME. WE HAVE REDEDICATED OURSELVES TO THE PURSUIT OF PEACE AND THE BETTERMENT OF THE LIVES OF PEOPLES EVERYWHERE. WE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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HAVE NOT ABANDONED OUR INTEREST AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN

ASIA.

21. WE ARE AND WILL REMAIN A PACIFIC NATION, BY VIRTURE OF OUR GEOGRAPHY, OUR HISTORY, OUR COMMERCE, AND OUR INTERESTS. OUR GROWING MUTUAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT ARE

THE MOST STRIKING PROOF OF OUR NEW INTERDEPENDENCE. ROUGHLY ONE-QUARTER OF ALL OUR TRADE IS NOW WITH EAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC; LAST YEAR WE SOLD THERE 22 BILLION DOLS WORTH OF OUR PRODUCTS. FOR THE LAST FIVE YEARS MORE OF OUR TRADE HAS BEEN WITH THAT REGION THAN WITH ANY OTHER, INCLUDING THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY.

22. THE CONDITION OF PEACE IS ADVANCING A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL OF US. PRESERVATION OF THAT PEACE REQUIRES ADEQUATE DEFENSE FORCES.

23. MOREOVER, SATISFACTORY THOUGH THE PRESENT STATE OF SECURITY IN ASIA MAY BE, WE DO NOT TAKE IT FOR GRANTED.

24. WE ARE ALERT TO THE SLOW BUT STEADY GROWTH OF SOVIET NAVAL CAPABILITIES IN THE PACIFIC AND INDIAN OCEANS.

25. INSURGENCIES CONTINUE IN SOME OF THE NATIONS OF SOUTH-EAST ASIA, AND THESE COUNTRIES ARE PROFOUNDLY CONCERNED BY THE POSSIBILITY OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE IN THEIR INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

26. NORTH KOREA REMAINS TO THIS MOMENT UNWILLING TO TAKE ANY CONSTRUCTIVE STEPS TO REDUCE THE LEVEL OF TENSIONS ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA.

27. IN SUM, THE STABILITY GAINED IN ASIA IS NOT WITHOUT ITS UNCERTAINTIES.

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28. OUR TASK, THEREFORE, IS TO CONSOLIDATE THIS PEACE-FUL BALANCE AND PROMOTE THE ECONOMIC GROWTH THAT OFFERS SUCH PROMISE TO THE PEOPLES OF ASIA.

29. TO ACHIEVE THESE ENDS, THE UNITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH ALLIES AND OLD FRIENDS.

30. WE WILL MAINTAIN THE BASIC STRENGTH OF OUR FLEET AND OUR OTHER PACIFIC DEFENSE FORCES.

31. OUR MILITARY PRESENCE WILL CONTINUE TO BE SHAPED BY NEW TECHNOLOGIES, IMPROVEMENTS IN THE CAPABILITIES OF OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES, AND BY THE RESULTS OF OUR EFFORTS TO PROMOTE RECONCILIATION AND PEACE. THE GROWING STRENGTH OF

ALLIES LIKE SOUTH KOREA, FOR INSTANCE, IS PERMITTING US TO
REDUCE OUR GROUND FORCES IN ASIA.

32. ANY FURTHER ADJUSTMENTS IN OUR FORCE LEVELS WILL BE
PLANNED AND CARRIED OUT CAUTIOUSLY, IN FULL CONSULTATION

WITH OUR ALLIES. THERE WILL BE NO SURPRISES.

33. OF OUR ALLIES AND OLD FRIENDS, NONE IS MORE IMPORTANT
THAN JAPAN.

34. OUR ECONOMY IS THE WORLD'S LARGEST; JAPAN'S IS THE
THIRD LARGEST.

35. OUR TWO NATIONS HAVE STRONG COMMON COMMITMENTS TO
DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS AND TO FREEDOM.

36. OUR CLOSE AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH THIS
GREAT INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY IS A CORNERSTONE OF STABILITY
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IN ASIA. BUT BECAUSE JAPAN IS A MAJOR WORLD ECONOMIC
POWER AS WELL AS AN ASIAN POWER, THE IMPACT OF OUR RELA-
TIONSHIP EXTENDS FAR BEYOND ASIAN BOUNDS.

37. ON THE MANY ISSUES OF SHARED BILATERAL AND MULTI-
LATERAL CONCERN, WE WILL PROCEED ONLY AFTER CLOSE CONSUL-
TATION, STRIVING AT ALL TIMES FOR MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING.

38. WE WILL COMBINE OUR EFFORTS WITH THOSE OF THE
JAPANESE TO ACHIEVE HIGHER ECONOMIC GROWTH RATES, AND THUS
TO STIMULATE THE ECONOMIES OF OTHER COUNTRIES.

39. WE WILL ALSO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS WITH THEIRS TO
ENSURE THAT OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES CONTINUE TO ENJOY ACCESS
TO AMERICAN AND JAPANESE MARKETS.

40. WE WILL AT ALL TIMES SHOW DUE REGARD FOR JAPAN'S
DOMESTIC INTERESTS, KNOWING THAT THE JAPANESE WILL DO THE
SAME WITH US.

41. ABOVE ALL, WE WILL SETTLE ANY ISSUE BETWEEN US IN THE
SPIRIT OF TRUE FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION STRESSED BY
PRESIDENT CARTER AND PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA WHEN THEY FIRST
MET IN THE OPENING WEEKS OF THIS ADMINISTRATION.

42. AFTER 25 YEARS OF CONFRONTATION, WE ARE CARRYING
ON A CONSTRUCTIVE DIALOGUE WITH THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
CHINA. STABILITY AND PROGRESS IN ASIA CANNOT BE SEPARATED
FROM THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA.

43. VAST DIFFERENCES IN CULTURE, SOCIAL SYSTEMS, IDEOLOGY, AND FOREIGN POLICY STILL SEPARATE OUR TWO COUNTRIES. BUT THE CHINESE AND AMERICAN PEOPLE NO LONGER FACE EACH OTHER WITH THE HOSTILITY, MISUNDERSTANDING, AND VIRTUALLY COMPLETE SEPARATION THAT EXISTED FOR TWO DECADES.

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44. AMERICANS HAVE TRADITIONALLY HARBORED WARM FEELINGS FOR THE CHINESE PEOPLE, BUT IN OUR APPROACH TO PEKING IT IS SELF-INTEREST RATHER THAN SENTIMENT THAT GUIDES OUR MOVES.

45. A CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP WITH CHINA IS IMPORTANT, NOT ONLY FOR REGIONAL PEACE, BUT ALSO FOR GLOBAL EQUILIBRIUM. WITHOUT THE INVOLVEMENT OF A FOURTH OF MANKIND IN THE SEARCH FOR SOLUTION OF GLOBAL ISSUES, THAT SEARCH WILL NOT SUCCEED.

46. THIS ADMINISTRATION CONSIDERS FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH CHINA TO BE A CENTRAL PART OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY, JUST AS WE CONSIDER CHINA'S ROLE IN MAINTAINING WORLD PEACE TO BE VITAL. THE US WILL NOT ENTER INTO ANY AGREEMENTS WITH OTHERS THAT ARE DIRECTED AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. CHINA'S INDEPENDENCE, UNITY, AND SELF-RELIANCE ARE IMPORTANT.

47. OUR RELATIONS WITH CHINA WILL CONTINUE TO BE GUIDED BY THE PRINCIPLES OF THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, AND ON THAT BASIS WE SHALL SEEK TO MOVE TOWARD FULL NORMALIZATION. WE ACKNOWLEDGE/(DO NOT CHALLENGE) THE CHINESE VIEW THAT THERE IS BUT ONE CHINA. WE ALSO PLACE IMPORTANCE ON THE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE TAIWAN QUESTION BY THE CHINESE PEOPLE THEMSELVES. WE ARE READY TO MOVE FORWARD ON THIS BASIS.

48. IN SEVEN WEEKS, I SHALL BE IN PEKING TO DISCUSS WITH THE LEADERS OF CHINA A BROAD RANGE OF WORLD ISSUES, AND TO EXPLORE WITH THEM HOW WE CAN CONTINUE TO DEVELOP OUR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. MUTUAL AND RECIPROCAL EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD ARE ESSENTIAL. IT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF BOTH OF OUR TWO GREAT NATIONS TO ESTABLISH FULL, NORMAL
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RELATIONS AS SMOOTHLY AS POSSIBLE. INDEED, SUCH AN ACHIEVEMENT IS IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL COUNTRIES.

49. AS WE PREPARE TO GO TO PEKING, WE RECOGNIZE THAT PROGRESS MAY NOT BE EASY OR IMMEDIATELY EVIDENT. BUT THIS

ADMINISTRATION IS COMMITTED TO THE PROCESS, AND WE ARE APPROACHING THE TALKS IN PEKING WITH SINCERITY AND CONSTRUCTIVE PURPOSE.

50. JAPAN AND CHINA, ARE, OF COURSE, THE TWO GREATEST POWERS IN ASIA. BUT WE HAVE CLOSE AND HISTORIC TIES WITH MANY OTHER NATIONS IN THE REGION, AND WE INTEND TO SEEK NEW WAYS TO STRENGTHEN THEM.

51. THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA HAS MADE GOOD USE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES PROVIDED BY PEACE ON THE PENINSULA. ITS INDUSTRIALIZATION IS MOVING STEADILY FORWARD. ITS TRADE HAS GROWN PHENOMENALLY. THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF ITS PEOPLE HAS IMPROVED SIGNIFICANTLY OVER THE PAST DECADE. WAR WOULD REVERSE THESE GAINS. EVEN MORE, IN THIS STRATEGIC TERRITORY, BORDERING ON LAND WITH CHINA AND THE USSR AND SEPARATED FROM JAPAN BY NARROW SEAS, WAR WOULD ALSO RISK SETTING OFF A WIDER CONFLAGRATION.

52. OUR SECURITY COMMITMENT TO THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND OUR DETERMINATION TO MAINTAIN IT ARE ESSENTIAL TO THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE.

53. SOME HAVE RECENTLY SUGGESTED THAT PRESIDENT CARTER'S TROOP WITHDRAWAL PLAN WILL WEAKEN SOUTH KOREA AND INCREASE THE THREAT OF WAR. CONSIDERING THE HISTORY OF THE PENINSULA, THESE FEARS MAY BE NATURAL. BUT THEY ARE UNWARRANTED. HERE IS WHY:

-- OUR GROUND TROOPS CONSTITUTE ONLY ABOUT 5 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL GROUND TROOPS COMMITTED TO THE DEFENSE OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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SOUTH KOREA.

-- THE GRADUAL WITHDRAWAL OF THESE TROOPS OVER FOUR TO FIVE YEARS WILL BE OFFSET BY THE GROWING STRENGTH AND SELF-CONFIDENCE OF THE SOUTH KOREAN ARMED FORCES.

-- OUR AIR, NAVAL, AND LOGISTIC SUPPORT WILL REMAIN.

-- WE ARE WORKING CLOSELY WITH THE KOREANS TO HELP THEM INCREASE FURTHER THEIR OWN DEFENSE CAPABILITIES.

54. THE UNITED STATES SHARES SOUTH KOREA'S STRONG DESIRE TO ESTABLISH A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR MAINTAINING PEACE AND STABILITY ON THE PENINSULA.

-- WE SUPPORT THE ENTRY OF NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA INTO THE UNITED NATIONS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO ULTIMATE REUNIFICATION.

-- WE HAVE PROPOSED NEGOTIATIONS TO REPLACE THE EXISTING ARMISTICE WITH MORE PERMANENT ARRANGEMENTS.

-- WE HAVE OFFERED TO MEET FOR THIS PURPOSE WITH SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA. WE WILL ENTER ANY NEGOTIATIONS OVER THE FUTURE OF THE PENINSULA ONLY IN FULL CONCERT WITH THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.

55. IN SOUTHEAST ASIA, EVEN WHILE WAR CONTINUED IN INDO-CHINA, A NEW HOPEFUL INSTITUTION WAS SLOWLY TAKING SHAPE -- THE ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN NATIONS OR ASEAN. OUR TIES WITH ONE OF ITS MEMBERS, THE PHILIPPINES, ARE PART OF OUR SHARED HISTORY. THE STRENGTH OF THESE HISTORIC TIES IS REINFORCED BY OUR MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY. EACH OF

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ASEAN'S OTHER FOUR MEMBERS -- THAILAND, INDONESIA, MALAYSIA, AND SINGAPORE -- IS AN OLD AND WARM FRIEND.

56. OUR ECONOMIC TIES WITH THE ASEAN COUNTRIES HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT. FROM THE ASEAN AREA, WE OBTAIN ONE-TENTH OF OUR CRUDE OIL IMPORTS AND A MUCH HIGHER PERCENTAGE OF OUR RUBBER, TIN, COCOA, BAUXITE, AND OTHER IMPORTANT RAW MATERIALS. THESE FIVE COUNTRIES WITH A POPULATION LARGER THAN ALL OF SOUTH AMERICA, BOUGHT 3.7 BILLION DOLS WORTH OF AMERICAN GOODS IN 1976.

57. WE WILL MAINTAIN OUR CLOSE BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH EACH ASEAN COUNTRY. AND WE WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEAL WITH THEM THROUGH THEIR ORGANIZATION WHEN THIS IS THEIR WISH.

58. WE ARE ESPECIALLY PLEASED THAT THE FIRST FORMAL US-ASEAN CONSULTATION WILL BE HELD WITHIN A FEW MONTHS, PROBABLY IN MANILA. THESE TALKS WILL, WE HOPE, FORM THE BASIS FOR STRONGER AMERICAN SUPPORT OF SOUTHEAST ASIAN REGIONAL EFFORTS.

59. AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND HAVE ALREADY HELD SUCH TALKS WITH ASEAN, STILL ANOTHER STEP IN THEIR PROGRESS TOWARD CLOSER TIES WITH THEIR ASIAN NEIGHBORS. THE BONDS FORGED BY OUR COMMON LANGUAGE AND HERITAGE HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED BY THESE NEWER SHARED INTERESTS. THE CONTRIBUTION THAT AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND MAKE TO THE REGION IS VITAL AND WE WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH THEM ON ALL MATTERS OF MUTUAL INTEREST.

60. I HAVE SO FAR DESCRIBED OUR EFFORTS TO CONSOLIDATE AND STRENGTHEN THE PEACE THAT NOW EXISTS.

61. WHEN WE LOOK AT VIETNAM, WE SEEK A DIFFERENT PROBLEM.

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62. ONLY TWO YEARS AFTER THE END OF THE WAR, WE HAVE
BEGUN THE PROCESS OF RECONCILIATION WITH THE SOCIALIST

REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM.

63. OUR OLD FRIENDS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE PACIFIC
HAVE BEEN KEPT FULLY INFORMED OF OUR TALKS WITH THE
VIETNAMESE. THEY AGREE THAT EVERYONE'S INTERESTS WOULD BE
SERVED BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN
VIETNAM AND THE UNITED STATES ON THE BASIS OF MUTUAL
RESPECT.

64. THE SCARS OF WAR STILL EXIST ON BOTH SIDES. BOTH
SIDES RETAIN A RESIDUE OF BITTERNESS THAT MUST BE OVERCOME.
FOR OUR PART:

-- WE WILL NO LONGER OPPOSE VIETNAM'S MEMBERSHIP IN
THE UN. I EXPECT TO SEE ITS DELEGATION SEATED THERE AT
THE NEXT GENERAL ASSEMBLY SESSION;

-- WE HAVE LIFTED RESTRICTIONS ON TRAVEL TO VIETNAM,
AND TAKEN OTHER POSITIVE STEPS TO ASSIST IN THE PROCESS OF
RECONCILIATION;

-- WE HAVE OFFERED TO LIFT THE TRADE EMBARGO AS WE
ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS;

-- TOGETHER WITH THE VIETNAMESE, WE HAVE DEVISED A
SYSTEM FOR IDENTIFYING AND RETURNING THE REMAINS OF
AMERICANS MISSING IN ACTION IN VIETNAM.

-- SOON THE REMAINS OF MORE AMERICAN PILOTS WILL BE

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RETURNED FROM THE LAND WHERE THEY DIED -- SOME AS LONG
AS A DECADE AGO -- TO THE LAND THEY SERVED SO HONORABLY
AND SO WELL.

65. THESE STEPS MAKE CLEAR THAT WE SEEK TO MOVE FORWARD
IN BUILDING A NEW RELATIONSHIP. REMEMBERING THE LESSONS
OF THE PAST, NEITHER SIDE SHOULD BE OBSESSED BY THEM,
OR DRAW THE WRONG CONCLUSIONS. WE CANNOT ACCEPT AN INTER-
PRETATION OF THE PAST THAT IMPOSES OBLIGATIONS ON US WHICH

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WILL NOT NOW ACCEPT.

66. AS WE LOOK, THEREFORE, ACROSS THE VAST PACIFIC, WE SEE THE WEB OF RELATIONSHIPS THAT LINKS US TOGETHER AND THE CONTINUING ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES IN ASIA'S SECURITY. THE PEACE OF THAT REGION ALSO DEPENDS UPON OUR EFFORTS TO REDUCE TENSIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION. ANY ATTEMPT TO CHANGE THE PRESENT GENERAL EQUILIBRIUM WOULD

BE VIEWED WITH CONCERN BY ALL OTHERS IN THE REGION.

67. PEACE HAS FREED THE UNITED STATES AND ASIA TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON THE ECONOMIC GROWTH WHICH HAS BEEN SUCH A STRIKING FACT ABOUT MODERN ASIA.

68. JAPAN'S ECONOMIC MIRACLE IS WELL KNOWN.

69. THE REMARKABLE ECONOMIC RECORD OF OTHER COUNTRIES IN ASIA OVER THE LAST DECADE HAS RECEIVED LESS ATTENTION. IN 1976, FOR EXAMPLE, THE ECONOMIES OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA, OF MALAYSIA, AND OF TAIWAN EXPANDED BY OVER 10 PERCENT; INDONESIA'S ECONOMY EXPANDED BY OVER 7 PERCENT; THE ECONOMY OF THE PHILIPPINES BY 6 PERCENT.

70. CONTINUATION OF THESE GAINS CANNOT BE TAKEN FOR GRANTED. WE MUST ADOPT POLICIES TO ENSURE THAT ECONOMIC PROGRESS IS NOT REVERSED AND THAT THE BENEFITS ARE MORE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WIDELY SPREAD.

71. PRESIDENT CARTER'S PLEDGES AT THE ECONOMIC SUMMIT ARE RELEVANT TO ASIA AS TO OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD.

-- WE WILL CONTINUE TO FIGHT INFLATION.

-- WE WILL CONTINUE TO SEEK WAYS OF DEVELOPING NEW ENERGY RESOURCES AND TO ENSURE STABLE AND EQUITABLE FUEL PRICES.

-- WE WILL RESIST PROTECIONIST TRENDS AND SUPPORT A LIBERAL TRADING SYSTEM.

-- WE WILL SUPPORT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF BUFFER STOCKS OF SELECTED COMMODITIES, FINANCED BY PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS AND BACKED BY A COMMON FUND.

72. IN ADDITION, OUR POLICIES IN ASIA WILL BE TAILORED TO THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES OF THE REGION. THE ROLE OF THE ASIAN DEVELOPMENT BANK IS OF PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE.

73. THE ADMINISTRATION HAS SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS PROPOSALS FOR A 25 MILLION DOLS CONTRIBUTION TO THE BANK'S REGULAR FUNDS AND A CONTRIBUTION TO ITS CAPITALIZATION OF 60 MILLION DOLS ANNUALLY FOR THE NEXT THREE YEARS.

74. WE WILL ALSO WORK WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS TO DIVERSIFY AND STRENGTHEN THE BANK'S PROGRAMS; WE WILL ENCOURAGE BANK SUPPORT FOR COOPERATIVE PROJECTS TO BE UNDERTAKEN

BY THE ASEAN COUNTRIES AND BY THE NEW STATES OF THE SOUTH
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PACIFIC.

75. OFFICIAL RESOURCES WILL, OF COURSE, NEVER BE ADEQUATE TO FILL REQUIREMENTS FOR CAPITAL, TECHNOLOGY, AND MANAGERIAL SKILLS. SUBSTANTIAL PRIVATE CAPITAL IS ALSO NEEDED. YOU ALL KNOW OF THE IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION TO ASIA'S DEVELOPING NATIONS MADE BY DIRECT PRIVATE INVESTMENT. WE HAVE NEW OPPORTUNITIES TO ASSIST THESE COUNTRIES THROUGH COOPERATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT'S OVERSEAS PRIVATE INVESTMENT CORPORATION AND US PRIVATE INVESTORS.

76. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT HAS ALREADY BROUGHT TO LARGE NUMBERS OF ASIAN PEOPLE THE BENEFITS CALLED FOR IN THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS:

-- AN "EXISTENCE WORTHY OF HUMAN DIGNITY";

-- A "STANDARD OF LIVING ADEQUATE FOR HEALTH AND WELL-BEING";
-- "THE RIGHT TO EDUCATION";

77. POVERTY REMAINS. TOO MANY CHILDREN ARE BORN INTO A LIFE THAT OFFERS LITTLE OR NO PROMISE FOR THE FUTURE.

78. IN SOME COUNTRIES OF ASIA THE LIVING STANDARDS OF THE POOREST 20 TO 40 PERCENT HAVE NOT IMPROVED; IN MANY CASES THEY HAVE FALLEN.

79. IN MANY COUNTRIES ALSO, RAPID POPULATION GROWTH POSES A THREAT TO ECONOMIC GAINS. SOME EAST ASIAN COUNTRIES WILL DOUBLE THEIR 1970 POPULATION BY THE END OF THE CENTURY. PRESSURES OF POPULATION ON THE LAND ARE ALREADY THREATENING EAST ASIAN'S NATURAL ENVIRONMENT.

80. OUR HERITAGE REQUIRES THAT THE UNITED STATES HELP COUNTRIES COPING WITH THESE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS, HELP TO
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EXPAND THEIR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES STILL FURTHER. OUR DIRECT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IN EAST ASIA IS AIMED IN PARTICULAR AT IMPROVING THE LIVES OF THE RURAL POOR.

81. BUT OUR OWN HERITAGE ALSO REQUIRES US TO BE JUST AS CONCERNED WITH HUMAN DIGNITY -- THE RIGHT TO LIVE UNDER A RULE OF LAW THAT PROTECTS AGAINST CRUEL, ARBITRARY, AND DEGRADING TREATMENT, TO PARTICIPATE IN GOVERNMENT AND

ITS DECISIONS, TO VOICE OPINIONS FREELY, TO SEEK PEACEFUL CHANGE.

82. WE UNDERSTAND CULTURAL DIFFERENCES. OUR HERITAGE, FOR INSTANCE, STRESSES THE INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHTS AND WELFARE; SOME ASIAN TRADITIONS STRESS THE RIGHTS AND WELFARE OF THE GROUP. WE APPLAUD THE DETERMINATION OF ASIAN COUNTRIES TO PRESERVE THE ABILITY, WON AT GREAT COST, TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN POLICIES AND ESTABLISH THEIR OWN INSTITUTIONS.

83. BUT WE BELIEVE STRONGLY THAT THERE ARE NEW AND GREATER OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMPROVING THE HUMAN CONDITION IN THE ASIA I HAVE DESCRIBED TODAY -- A CONTINENT AT PEACE, THE HOME OF GIFTED AND CAPABLE PEOPLE SECURE IN THEIR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.

84. WITH VIGILANCE AND DETERMINATION, WITH FRIENDSHIP AND UNDERSTANDING, WE ENCOURAGE OUR ASIAN FRIENDS TO GRASP THEIR OPPORTUNITIES TO PROMOTE THE HUMAN RIGHTS OF THEIR PEOPLES.

85. TO DO SO WILL NOT WEAKEN ANY NATION.

86. ON THE CONTRARY, STRENGTH OF A DEEPER SORT -- THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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STRENGTH THAT COMES FROM THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE PEOPLE -- WILL BE THE LONG-TERM RESULT OF DEDICATION TO THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE HUMAN CONDITION.

87. THOSE COUNTRIES IN ASIA WHICH HAVE ALREADY EMBARKED ON THIS COURSE WILL BE THE STRONGER FOR IT, AND WE SHALL BE ABLE TO WORK MORE CLOSELY WITH THEM.

88. I BEGAN TONIGHT BY SPEAKING OF THE WELCOME PROMISE OF PEACE, AND OF PEACEFUL CHANGE, THAT IS TAKING HOLD ACROSS THE REGION. I WANT TO CLOSE BY STRESSING MY DEEP HOPE FOR A NEW COMMUNITY IN ASIA AND THE PACIFIC. WE SEEK:

-- TO BUILD ON OUR RELATIONSHIPS OF MUTUAL RESPECT;
-- TO CONSOLIDATE THE FRAGILE STABILITY ALREADY
ACHIEVED;
-- TO BRING GREATER FREEDOM AND GREATER RESPECT FOR
HUMAN RIGHTS; AND
-- TO ERASE THE DIVISIONS THAT PERSIST.

89. TOWARD THIS COMMUNITY I PLEDGE THE BEST EFFORTS OF THE

ADMINISTRATION; FOR THIS I ASK THE SUPPORT OF OUR FRIENDS
IN ASIA AND OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. VANCE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENT DRAFT, TEXT, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 22-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE144682
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: EA:ECOLBERT:EH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: D770222-0274
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t197706110/baaaetbt.tel
Line Count: 665
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Message ID: be1e9e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EA
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 13
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2013056
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SECRETARY'S ASIA SOCIETY SPEECH
TAGS: PSDC, (VANCE, CYPRUS R)
To: ALL EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC DIPLOMATIC POSTS MOSCOW MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/be1e9e73-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009